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"The study of the names of the Jivaro tribes alone then, demonstrate that which Orbigny had already foreseen, that the populations of Marañon are connected more or less directly to the great Guaranian group. The relations which we have just established tend, moreover, to prove that the savages of whom we have sketched too short an ethnology have come to establish themselves in the forests of Cuenca, of Jaen or of Chachapoyas, by going up the rivers, since certain names of tribes, mentioned along the middle course of the Amazon at the time of its discovery, have disappeared from the spot, to be rediscovered today along the banks of the Maranon and its upper affluents. The history of the Jivaro people would be comparable, in consequence, to that of the Tupi nation, nearly annihilated in the neighborhood of Para by the Portuguese whose traces Pedro Teixeira discovered along the Madeira river, or again comparable to that of the Chiriguanos whose curious migration described by Orbigny, across the Chaco to the foot of the last spurs of the Bolivian Andes.(2) "

"(2) We have purposely omitted to speak here of the Antipas, the neighbors and enemies of the Aguarunas, and who, ranked by Mateo Paz Soldan among the Jivaro, can be only a branch of the race Anti, which would explain their incessant battles against the Jivaro themselves."

The Indians are inhabitants of a region which extends along the upper course of the Marañón River, from Yusamaro downward to Puerto Meléndez at the Pongo de Manseriche. They live in this region in small and widely dispersed settlements close to the banks of the River. I have been informed that their chief settlements are located farther up along the tributary rivers. Beyond Yusamaro no Indians are said to remain anymore, yet formerly their settlements are said to have extended to the Pongo Rentema. They had moved down to the Marañón River on account of the quarrels they had with the whites or, rather, the mestizos. Their settlements can not be called permanent anyway. Despite the fact that the Indians live at one place for a long time, and in relatively permanent dwellings at that, they are said to leave their settlements frequently for no special reason in order to reestablish themselves again at some distance from the former settlement.

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machetes, two hatchets, and cloth. Following this, the Maculeos returned the visit of the Jivaro.

With this initiation of trade relations between the two groups, Jivaro families soon migrated northward from the Río Pastaza Valley to settle in the previously uninhabited land between the Río Pastaza and Macas. These migrants began to act as middlemen in the barter of Jivaro products for steel machetes and other goods. The Maculeos at first traded mainly to secure pigs and salt obtained by the Jivaro from saline springs, but soon also began to attend manioc celebrations to purchase lard obtained from pigs slaughtered by the Jivaro on such occasions. As a consequence of their attendance at the feasts, the Maculeos started also to purchase manioc.[28] This was the beginning of the "shrunken head" trade, and the first reported examples of manioc reached the outside world at about this time.[29]

Macas remained the only significant source of Western-manufactured goods for the Jivaro until 1850. In that year, the Jesuits founded new missions at Macas and Gualaquiza, to the south on the Río Zamora.[30] The Jesuit missionaries introduced the first cattle to Macas at this time. Maculeos men carrying calves and guinea grass (*gramalote* in Spanish) were on their backs down the long trail from Riobamba. Both cattle and the grass flourished, and soon the Maculeos had a plentiful supply of beef, with the result that a gradual decline occurred in the trade with the Jivaro for pigs. Being unable to barter pigs any longer to obtain steel tools and other trade goods, the Jivaro began to engage in labor, such as clearing forest for pastures, for the people of Macas.

The Jesuits were shortly forced to withdraw from Gualaquiza and Macas due to political reasons, but they left behind them at Gualaquiza a few mestizos who constituted the first

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but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, knifelike Río Upano and its often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 2,000 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe interior Jivaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956–57.

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chiguaza region, the middle Río Macuma area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jivaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jivaro which forced the Achuara (*achuará hunú*) to retreat northeastward from the Chiguaza and middle Macuma areas and the Huambisa (*tsuma hunú*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jivaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their raiding against these adjacent tribes.[20]

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jivaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *untsuri hunú* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades or least, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their relatives already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the

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highland province of Azuay in the 1930's, many more Jivaro families migrated eastward to escape harassment. Thus it seems evident that the population of the interior Jivaro has been substantially augmented by migration for at least a century.

The picture is less clear with regard to the demographic effects of disease upon the interior Jivaro. Epidemics of contagious disease, especially measles and whooping cough, appear to have had devastating effects in the twentieth century among these people. Informants claim that in some cases half of the populations of their neighborhoods were wiped out in a single epidemic. It is difficult to evaluate such statements, but they are not inconsistent with what we know of the effects of such diseases on other South American forest Indians under observation at times when they were struck by measles and smallpox. In addition, common colds and similar respiratory ailments easily reach epidemic proportions among the Jivaro, with complications of a fatal nature being common, especially among infants and the elderly. The fear of colds is so great that it can act as a barrier to acceptance of the anthropological fieldworker, who must, of course, take every precaution to be sure that he and his companions are not, in fact, bringing the disease.

Malaria is endemic, but is recognized by elderly informants as being an anciently introduced disease "brought by Jivaro coming back from Peru." The Jivaro believe that it is transmitted when sharing the bowl in which manioc beer is served. It would seem highly likely that malaria, an Old World disease, which possibly has been present among the Jivaro since the sixteenth century, has had substantial effects on their rate of mortality and thus upon their long-range population size and density. Again, however, the lack of